

Message Text

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C O N F I D E N T I A L MBFR VIENNA 0543

MBFR NEGOTIATIONS

FROM US REP MBFR

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PARM, NATO

SUBJ: MBFR NEGOTIATIONS: NOV 4 EASTERN PLENARY STATEMENT

AT THE 117TH PLENARY MEETING OF THE MBFR NEGOTIATIONS ON NOV 4, CHAIRED BY FRG REP (BEHREND), POLISH REP (DABROWA) DELIVERED THE ONLY STATEMENT. HIS PRESENTATION EMPHASIZED EASTERN FLEXIBILITY IN TAKING INITIATIVES DESIGNED TO FACILITATE AN AGREEMENT BASED ON COMPROMISE AND CRITICIZED, WITH PARTICULAR REFERENCE TO THE CONCEPT OF COLLECTIVE CEILINGS, WESTERN PROPOSALS AS CONTINUING TO AIM AT OBTAINING UNILATERAL ADVANTAGES. THE MAIN POINTS OF THE POLISH STATEMENT, THE FULL TEXT OF WHICH FOLLOWS BY AIRGRAM, WERE:

1. WITH THE NEGOTIATIONS ENTERING THEIR FOURTH YEAR, IT IS AN OPPORTUNE TIME TO REFLECT ON WHAT HAS BEEN ACCOMPLISHED

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TOWARD REACHING MUTUAL UNDERSTANDING AND ON HOW DIFFICULTIES

ENCOUNTERED SO FAR CAN BE OVERCOME SO THAT WORK MAY BEGIN ON A CONCRETE AGREEMENT.

2. THE VIENNA TALKS FACE THE TASK OF SUPPLEMENTING IN THE MILITARY FIELD, WHILE PRESERVING THE EXISTING FORCE RELATIONSHIP, THE POLICIES OF DETENTE WHICH THE HELSINKI CONFERENCE MADE A PERMANENT FEATURE OF EUROPEAN LIFE AND WHOSE DEVELOPMENT WILL BE ASSESSED AT BELGRADE NEXT YEAR.

3. SINCE TABLING THEIR DRAFT AGREEMENT THREE YEARS AGO, THE SOCIALIST STATES HAVE SHOWN THEIR WILL TO ACHIEVE PROGRESS IN VIENNA THROUGH A NUMBER OF INITIATIVES INCLUDING PARTIAL MEASURES SUCH AS, IN PARTICULAR, THE PROPOSAL THAT DIRECT PARTICIPANTS AGREE NOT TO INCREASE THE NUMERICAL STRENGTH OF THEIR ARMED FORCES FOR THE DURATION OF THE NEGOTIATIONS.

4. FOREMOST AMONG THESE INDICATORS OF GOOD WILL AND READINESS TO COMPROMISE IS THE PROPOSAL MADE BY THE EAST LAST FEB 19.

5. THIS PROPOSAL (DETAILS OF WHICH POLISH REP REVIEWED) PROVIDES A WORKABLE BASIS FOR TAKING WITHIN A RELATIVELY SHORT PERIOD PRACTICAL STEPS WHICH WOULD SIGNIFICANTLY ADD TO SECURITY THROUGHOUT EUROPE.

6. THE COMPROMISE NATURE OF THE FEB 19 PROPOSAL BECOMES APPARENT FROM THE FOLLOWING ANALYSIS WHICH IS OFFERED IN ORDER TO DEFINE IN A CONCRETE FORM THE ISSUES ON WHICH A DEGREE OF MUTUAL UNDERSTANDING HAS BEEN ACHIEVED:

A) THE EAST HAS ADOPTED THE WESTERN PROPOSAL THAT STAGE I COMMITMENTS NEED TO BE PUT IN CONCRETE TERMS, WHILE DETAILED STIPULATIONS CONCERNING STAGE II MAY FOLLOW AS A RESULT OF FURTHER NEGOTIATIONS AND AN AGREEMENT.

B) THE EAST HAS AGREED TO INITIATE THE REDUCTION PROCESS THROUGH THE WITHDRAWAL OF A PART OF THE FORCES OF THE TWO GREAT POWERS.

C) IN RETURN, THE OTHER DIRECT PARTICIPANTS SHOULD FREEZE THEIR FORCES FOR THE DURATION OF THE FIRST AGREEMENT AND PROVIDE, CONFIDENTIAL

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AT LEAST IN GENERAL TERMS, GUARANTEES REGARDING THE SCOPE AND TIMING OF THEIR STAGE II REDUCTIONS OF ARMED FORCES AND ARMAMENTS.

D) FLANK STATE SECURITY NEEDS WOULD BE MET BY THE DISBANDMENT PROVISION IN A WAY SUPERIOR TO THE WESTERN METHOD OF REDUCING BY INDIVIDUAL SOLDIERS.

E) THE EAST HAS SUPPORTED ITS FEBRUARY PROPOSAL BY TABLING DATA AND IS PREPARED TO DISCUSS THAT DATA WHEN THE WEST PROVIDES UPDATED FIGURES.

F) IN THE LIGHT OF THIS CONSIDERABLE EASTERN EFFORT, THE WEST SHOULD DROP ITS NEGATIVE ATTITUDE TOWARD THE FEB 19 PROPOSAL AND ADOPT IT AS A BASIS FOR A REASONABLE COMPROMISE.

7. BY CONTRAST, WESTERN PROPOSALS AIM AT UNILATERAL MILITARY ADVANTAGES THROUGH THEIR UNJUST DEMAND FOR ASYMMETRICAL REDUCTIONS.

8. A MAJOR STUMBLING BLOCK TO PROGRESS IS THE REFUSAL OF NON-US WESTERN DIRECT PARTICIPANTS TO UNDERTAKE CONCRETE REDUCTION COMMITMENTS.

9. THIS REFUSAL IS COMBINED WITH WESTERN DEMANDS FOR COLLECTIVE CEILINGS WHICH:

A) MIGHT GIVE SOME MEMBERS OF NATO THE RIGHT TO INCREASE THEIR ARMED FORCES IN A MANNER INCOMPATIBLE WITH EASTERN SECURITY INTERESTS;

B) COULD SERVE AS AN INTERNATIONAL LEGAL INSTRUMENT FOR OVERT OR DISGUISED REGROUPING, RESTRUCTURING AND STRENGTHENING DIFFERENT COMPONENTS OF THE ARMED FORCES WITHIN NATO;

C) ARE ADMITTEDLY DESIGNED TO FACILITATE NATO'S MILITARY INTEGRATION PLANS WHICH HAVE NOTHING TO DO WITH THE PURPOSE OF THESE NEGOTIATIONS AND MAY EVEN CONTRADICT THE DRIVE FOR INCREASED SECURITY IN EUROPE;

D) ARE INCONSISTENT WITH THE EAST'S REJECTION OF THE
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BLOC-TO-BLOC APPROACH IN THESE TALKS;

AND

E) WOULD CALL INTO QUESTION BOTH POLITICALLY AND MILITARILY THE VALUE OF REDUCTIONS AND SERVE TO DEEPEN THE DIVISION OF EUROPE.

10. IN CONTRAST, THE EAST REQUIRES THAT, AS PART OF A FIRST AGREEMENT, THE WEST EUROPEAN DIRECT PARTICIPANTS AND CANADA GUARANTEE THEIR PARTICIPATION IN FUTURE REDUCTIONS, ENTAILING, AT A MINIMUM, SPECIFICATION BY THESE COUNTRIES OF THE SCOPE AND TIMING OF THEIR REDUCTIONS.

11. UNFORTUNATELY, THE EAST HAS OBSERVED STEPS TAKEN EVEN IN

RECENT DAYS IN THE DIRECTION OPPOSITE TO THE GOAL OF THESE
NEGOTIATIONS.

12. THE EAST WOULD LIKE TO SEE DECLARATIONS BY WESTERN
LEADERS ABOUT READINESS TO MAKE POSITIVE CONTRIBUTIONS REFLECTED
IN A CONSTRUCTIVE WESTERN RESPONSE TO EASTERN WILLINGNESS TO
FIND JUST AND EQUITABLE SOLUTIONS TO THE DIFFICULT PROBLEMS
FACING ALL PARTICIPANTS IN THESE NEGOTIATIONS.RESOR

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